

The US as a “climate outlaw”: analysis of climate change news discourse and news values with a case study of the United States withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement announcement

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse and provide a look into climate change related newspaper discourse. The case study provides an analysis of the reporting in *The Washington Post* of the United States' withdrawal announcement from the Paris climate agreement on June 1st, 2017. The materials for the analysis consisted of articles related to the withdrawal announcement from a seven-day period. The main research method utilised is discourse analysis, and theory on news values is a crucial part of the analysis.

The main research questions are how the journalists at *The Washington Post* portray the US and Donald Trump and how the image of the US as a 'climate outlaw' is created. The study found that in the articles the US and the Trump administration is often compared and juxtaposed with other countries and portrayed as non-cooperative, and the role of a global leader is in jeopardy, according to *TWP*. Sources were used to express opinions that would not have been acceptable according to journalistic norms to express by the journalists themselves, and revealed undying ideologies of *The Washington Post*. As a newspaper with more liberal-leaning ideologies behind it, the opposing views of the withdrawal decision were given considerably more space than those that supported it.

Abstrakti

Tutkielman tavoitteena on analysoida ja katselmoida ilmastonmuutoksen uutisoinnin diskurssia sanomalehdissä. Tapaustutkimus analysoi yhdysvaltalaisen sanomalehden *The Washington Postin* uutisointia Yhdysvaltojen ilmoituksesta vetäytyä Pariisiin ilmastopimuksesta kesäkuussa 2017. Materiaalina analyysissä on uutisartikkeleita seitsemän päivän ajalta, jotka liittyvät ilmastopimuksesta vetäytymiseen. Päättötutkimusmetodina käytetään diskurssintutkimusta sekä uutiskriteerien teoriaa.

Tapaustutkimuksen tutkimuskysymyksinä ovat seuraavat: millaisessa valossa journalistit *The Washington Postissa* esittävät Yhdysvallat ja Donald Trumpin, sekä kuinka kuvaa Yhdysvalloista 'ilmastolainsuojattomana' luodaan. Tutkimuksen tuloksena on, että artikkeleissa luodaan paljon vastakkainasettelua Yhdysvaltojen ja muiden Pariisiin ilmastopimuksessa mukana olevien maiden välillä. Yhdysvallat esitetään vastahakoisena yhteistyöhön ilmastonmuutosasioissa. Lisäksi ilmastonmuutospolitiikan esitetään olevan globaalisti niin tärkeässä roolissa, että Yhdysvaltojen rooli johtavana valtiona globaalissa politiikassa esitetään olevan uhattuna yhteistyöhaluttomuuden vuoksi.

The Washington Postin perimmäisiä ideologioita voidaan tarkastella käytettyjen lähteiden kautta, sillä lainaukset antavat journalistille mahdollisuuden tuoda esille näkökulmia ja mielipiteitä, jotka eivät olisi muuten journalististen normien mukaisia. *The Washington Post* on enemmän liberaalipuolueen puolella kuin republikaanipuolueen Yhdysvaltojen politiikassa. Ilmastopimuksesta vetäytymistä vastustavien äänet pääsevät esille useammin, kun taas vetäytymiselle myönteiset mielipiteet eivät saa yhtä paljon tilaa artikkeleissa.

1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, the rapid changes in climate caused by mankind have been a topic of discussion in scientific circles, and increasingly the media has joined in the discussion. Attitudes towards climate change are divided; some believe it is a real, immediate threat caused by humans, while others do not believe it to be a threat or that humans have had a role in its creation. These attitudes are reflected in the way climate change related events are reported in the media. The aim of this paper is to provide a thorough overview and analysis of linguistic tools used in climate change reporting, with a case study of the United States' decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on June 1st, 2017 in a daily newspaper *The Washington Post*.

The interest in news reporting studies has endured through decades among researchers. Lately, there has been a growing research interest towards multimodal climate change discourse in media. One of the research methods applied is the multimodal discourse analysis method. Evaluation in language in news has also been an interest in media research, and it complements this study as well. In addition, content analysis will be utilised, as well as theory on news values will be implemented.

The political atmosphere in the US heavily influences all aspects of life, and news and media outlets are not an exception. Something that needs to be taken into consideration, when analysing such a politically charged topic, is the possible bias that may be expressed by the newspaper. This issue will be addressed in the analysis section with attention drawn to the linguistic choices. Additionally, all the press conferences and press releases will also be read for this paper to provide a base on which different articles are compared to in order to reveal whether the newspaper expresses bias. The timeline for the research is seven days, since the newsworthiness of the event influences the amount of coverage given to it.

The paper consists of three main components. Firstly, the Paris Climate Agreement and the role the US had in its creation are introduced. Secondly, the research methodology and the theoretical framework for the paper will be established. Thirdly, previous research of the topic will be discussed. The following chapter presents the case study, which will be analysed using the theories introduced. Lastly, the findings of this paper will be discussed in more detail. Further research suggestions will be made in the conclusion.

2. Anthropogenic climate change and The Paris Climate Agreement

Anthropogenic climate change refers to climate change caused by human actions. When discussing the global warming effect of anthropogenic climate change, the global temperature is often compared to those of pre-industrial times, circa 1850. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, better known for its acronym IPCC, is an organisation operating under United Nations, and one of the world's most trusted and credited authority for climate change related reports. According to the IPCC, its reports published are objective, science-based, and politically neutral (IPCC, n.d.)

Anthropogenic climate change has been under discussion for decades. The greenhouse gasses produced by human action create changes in the atmosphere, since most of the harmful of the so-called greenhouse gasses are made of carbon dioxide and water vapour. These two have increased ever since the industrialisation, which has led to increasing temperatures (Wong, 2016, p. 62). The cause for the changes in temperatures is the amount of solar radiation that either gets stuck in the atmosphere, or does not get through to it (Wong, 2016, p. 61). The special IPCC report published in 2018 was commissioned in 2016 to answer and strengthen the commitment to the goals stated in the Paris Agreement, most notably that of limiting global temperature increase to 1,5°C (IPCC, 2018).

The Paris Agreement is a pact created by United Nations' member countries to battle anthropogenic climate change (The Paris Agreement, n.d.). The Paris Agreement aims to cut pollution and keep temperatures from rising. The increase of temperature is aimed stop at 1.5 degrees, below the 2-degree increase from pre-industrial times (Paris Agreement, 2015, article 2 a).

The Paris Climate Agreement is introduced to give an overview of the event the articles are related to. The background, process, and current status of the Agreement are elaborated. Additionally, the role of the U.S. in forging the Paris Agreement and afterwards is explained. Furthermore, the attitude towards the Agreement expressed by the U.S. President Donald Trump before and after his presidency is revealed.

In 2015 The United Nations gathered the member nations, officially referred to as 'parties to the convention' (What is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change?, 2020), that have ratified the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to COP 21 meeting to discuss and plan global action against anthropogenic climate change. The meeting lasted from November 30th to December 11th (COP 21).

One of the objectives mentioned in the Paris Agreement is to develop sustainable and environmental-friendly technologies and ways to practise economical practises (The Paris Agreement, Article 2). The differences in resources has been noted between developed and developing countries. This is evident e.g. in Article 2,

This Agreement will be implemented to reflect equity and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in the light of different national circumstances. (*The Paris Agreement, 2015*)

On October 5th, 2016, the Agreement was put into force as the required amount of 55% of ratifications was achieved. As of May 2020, 189 parties out of the 197 that are a part of the United Nations Framework on Climate Change have ratified the Paris Agreement. 197 United Nations' member countries have signed the Agreement.

The United States of America was in a pivotal role in the drafting of the Paris Climate Agreement in 2015, during President Barack Obama's second, and final, term in office. As one of the world's top polluters (United States Environmental Protection Agency, n.d.), and as a developed country, the Paris Agreement obliged the U.S to give support to developing countries with other developed countries. The U.S ratified the Paris Agreement on September 3rd, 2016 (United Nations Treaty Collection, 2019).

Current President Donald Trump expressed during his presidential campaign in 2015 his opposition to the Paris Climate Agreement (Fox News, 2015). In the interview with Fox News President Trump expressed multiple times his sceptical view on anthropogenic climate change. When asked about his opinion on the COP 21 meeting in Paris, President Trump stated that

I think it's ridiculous, we have bigger problems right now and to have the president be there for an extended period of time talking about global warming being the biggest problem facing this country is insane. And he ought to get back to work and solve the ISIS problem and solve the problems we have with Russia and Iran. If they spend as much time working on the Iran deal as they did, I mean this horrible, horrible transaction where we're giving away a hundred and fifty billion dollars and which will lead to nuclear proliferation by the way, he ought to get back here and back to work. (Fox News, 2015, 0:27)

The U.S. submitted the official withdrawal notification on November 4th, 2019 (Pompeo, 2019). The notification was submitted just before the end period of the possible withdrawal from the Agreement, as stated in Article 28, "At any time after three years from the date on which this Agreement has entered into force for a Party, that Party may withdraw from this Agreement by giving written notification to the Depositary." (Paris Agreement, 2015, Article 28 paragraph 1)

3. Evaluation in news discourse

Previous studies have found that media heavily influences the perception of climate change issues, among other major affairs, amongst the public. For a large part of the public in Western countries, media is the main source of information on climate change. Research on media and climate change coverage has been conducted in multiple countries. Research periods span generally over the past two to three decades, starting from the 1990s.

An increasing interest in the relation between language and environment has created 'ecolinguistics', a multi-disciplinary field of study under linguistics brand of science (Bednarek & Caple, 2010, p. 8). According to Hulme and Norton (2019), ecolinguistics possesses a "... critical perspective towards the impact of language in constructing meaning, ideologies and world-views" (p. 115). Ecolinguistics is further clarified to realise the overall connection between social, environmental, and all-inclusive life forms on earth in the past, present, and the future (Hulme & Norton, 2019, p. 115).

Nerlich et al (2010) have compiled an analysis of recent trends in climate change communications. Climate change communication has undergone major changes in its focus in the past decades. One of the base notions in their paper is that since scientific consensus on the existence of anthropogenic climate change has been reached, communications have shifted their focus from "persuading people that climate change is happening to persuading people to adopt practical measures to deal with it." (Nerlich et al, 2010, p. 2) Additionally, Kumpu (2016) examined how newspapers reported an UN meeting. In the article Kumpu makes an important distinction, stating that as consensus has been reached of the reality of climate change the role of journalists has shifted to giving information to the audience on climate change matters, instead of reporting competing views (Kumpu, 2016).

There have been some worrying signs around climate change reporting: "discovered a disturbing phenomenon when he surveyed members of the Society of Environmental Journalists (SEJ) and learned that many reporters were using newspapers as their predominant source of knowledge." (Wilson, 2000, as quoted in Antilla, 2010) Journalists, especially regular newspaper journalist, perhaps cannot be expected to be the masters of specific. However, it does pose a worrying problem, since if the sources and information come from newspapers for the journalists themselves, are those facts factchecked how thoroughly?

The low number of climate change related news is noted in a study conducted by Antilla (2010). The issue is commonly brought up in relation to unexpected weather events, such as floods, extreme

heatwaves, and forest fires. A study conducted by Schmidt et al (2013) found that the number of the U.S. newspaper coverage on climate change has risen, although the development has not been simplistically straightforward. Climate change still needs a supporting event from which it can draw new newsworthiness (p. 1241).

Another issue which has been appointed as one of the reasons for the low quantity of coverage of climate change issues is the fact that it is not something people can most of the time see in person. Schäfer (2015, p. 853), Dahl and Flottum (2017, p. 124) point out the fact that the Western world does not face similar consequences as poor, developing nations. However, there is evidence that the amount of coverage has increased due to "...an increasing 'domestication'..." (Schäfer, 2015, p. 858) of climate change related events. Politics, economy, and social effects have boosted the number of articles related to anthropogenic climate change, bringing the issue and its effects closer to Western nations as well (Schäfer, 2015, p. 857).

Discursive News Value Analysis can be used to examine both text and pictures in climate change news. News Values are aspects that define the newsworthiness of events (Bednarek and Caple, 2012, p. 41). Theory on news values is valuable when examining news about climate change. News values were first introduced by Galtung and Ruge (1965). The way in which journalists create newsworthiness for different events essentially effects what people read about in the newspapers. Bednarek and Caple (2012) have provided an introductory article on news values and language. Discursive News Value Analysis can be used to determine the factors that make the piece of news newsworthy (What is DNVA, n.d.). Fowler (1991) defines news values as an aspect which makes one event more newsworthy than other events (as quoted in Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 103). Nine news values are introduced: Negativity, Prominence, Consonance, Impact, Novelty, Timeliness, Superlativeness, Proximity, and Personalisation (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 41).

The definitions for the news values are the following: Negativity reveals the negative features of the event. According to Bednarek and Caple (2012), negativity is related to events such as "... conflicts, accidents, damage, injuries, disasters, or wars." (p. 102.) Negativity, therefore, can be utilised by using negative words such as adverbs to emphasise the negative aspect. Descriptive words such as 'worst' and 'disastrous' are often seen in newspaper headlines. Additionally, Negativity is created with the images chosen by the journalist and editor.

When discussing the effects an event has, the news value implemented is called Impact. Bednarek and Caple (2012) explain that Impact is used "especially if they involve serious repercussions or have

a national/ global impact.” (p. 104). Impact then, in other words, refers also to the possible future changes the event may have even on global scale. As an example, natural disaster may have effects on global scale. The eruption of Icelandic volcano Eyjafjallajökull in 2010 is good example of the kind of Impact that creates newsworthiness.

Prominence relates to the status of the people featured in news. The higher the status the more interesting the news is generally perceived as. For example, politicians, top athletes, and celebrities often create stories that are interest the readers and draw attention.

Consonance indicates the stereotypical expectations. For example, when people’s stereotypical expectations of certain public figures are met, the news is interesting because it conforms those expectations. Novelty, on the other hand, plays into the unexpected turn of events. An example of Novelty could be simply a person acting in an unexpected manner, or an animal acting in a way that is not deemed natural to the species.

Personalisation narrows the event down to a more human and practical level. Bednarek and Caple (2012) state that “... story can be made more newsworthy if it directly impacts on a news actor who is willing to tell their story” (p. 104). Big events such as natural disasters or massive decisions on administrative level are easier to present to the readers when the focus of the effects is on a more human level.

Superlativeness emphasises certain aspects of the issue to make it more interesting. For news stories to be interesting and attention-grabbing, “... news stories usually focus on maximising or intensifying particular aspects of an event” (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 104). For instance, a big event is more likely to become a story than smaller, local event. Of course, the newspaper’s audience in that case would be a factor also. Local newspapers are more likely to focus on local events, than big international ones.

Timeliness and proximity reveal the location and point in time where the event took place (Bednarek and Caple, 2012, p. 41). Even more than the news value Superlativeness, Timeliness and Proximity as news value are further determined by the type of publication, and the location of the circulation of the publication. Once again, local newspapers are likely to report mainly local news, because that is the reason the locals are reading that specific newspaper. Proximity matters in news that affect possibly communities around the news event. Timeliness is a news value that tells how recent and relevant the event is. News stories tend to lose their newsworthiness with time, so events that have happened some time ago may not be seen relevant enough to be features in news anymore.

In the study of news values some discrepancy appears to be present. In some other research, the news values are listed under varying terms. Although the idea among the values is the same under different terms, some researches have divided them under multiple terms to create more specific distinctions between the values. As an example, Harcup (2016) has mentioned fourteen different values under more descriptive terms. However, most can be grouped under the same news value terms Bednarek and Caple (2012) have listed. Dahl and Flottum (2017) list additionally Eliteness, which refers to the high status of the individual and equates to Bednarek and Caple's (2012) Prominence, and Unexpectedness (p. 126).

News values are not terms that can be identified without linguistic evidence or careful analysis of the language used. Additionally, the context in which the text appears is important to include in the analysis. Bednarek and Caple (2017) note that "the general context as well as the specific co-text (surrounding text) and intended audience need to be considered before assigning a news value to an expression" (p. 126). Therefore, it is important to identify the audience of the researched media outlet.

News values can be applied in both written text and visuals (Dahl & Flottum, 2017, p. 126). However, there has been little research on how images render news values in addition to the written text (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 57). In addition to images, the captions are an important part of the news story. Usually, the caption explains the story shortly in relation to the picture. However, according to Bednarek and Caple (2012) the reader has to know the story in order to understand fully the caption (p. 126). Bednarek and Caple (2012) further explain the relation between image and caption as giving depth to one another (p. 127). In other words, the caption and the image explain each other.

Out of the nine news values introduced by Bednarek and Caple (2012), eight are often featured in climate change related news. Negativity, installed as the "core news values" (Dahl & Flottum, 2017, p. 124) with Impact, feature often in climate change reports. Negativity is one of the most recognisable values in climate change related reporting (Schäfer, 2015 p. 856). As the reporting of climate change often peaks around natural disasters and international summits, the negative aspects of climate change are readily available to readers. Additionally, climate related international gatherings and agreements elevate the number of climate change news which are compatible with the news values Negativity and Impact (Dahl & Flottum, 2017, p. 125).

Newsworthiness of an event depends on multiple factors. The value, sources, such as other texts, including press releases and social media posts, video and audio materials all factor in on the

newsworthiness. Journalists and other employees' attitudes towards the event also influence the way the event is reported, if it is reported (Bednarek and Caple, 2012 p. 103).

Part of media discourse research is the study of evaluative language (Bednarek, 2010). Before the publication of an article, there are multiple stages and editors the article must go through. Therefore, journalistic piece cannot be perceived as a representation of the journalist to whom the credit is attributed in the news article (Bednarek, 2010, p. 16).

In the paper about evaluating language in news, Bednarek (2010) confronts this problem and employs "the term 'the journalist' to refer to the conglomerate of people involved in generating the news story." (2010, p. 16). Evaluation is defined as an umbrella term for the attitudes towards the issues spoken or written about (p. 17). Hunston (2010) defines evaluative language as conveying "... an attitude towards a person, situation or other entity and is both subjective and located within societal value-system" (Hunston, 2010, p. 1) Evaluative language can be utilized by interpreting news values. Bednarek identifies twelve 'evaluative parameters'; Comprehensibility, Emotivity, Expectedness, Genuineness, Importance, Necessity, Possibility, Reliability, Causality, Sourcing evidentiality, Sourcing style, and Mental state (2010, p. 19).

For example, Jullian (2011) studied the use of evaluative language through quoted sources. Jullian (2011) utilises appraisal theory in the study. "External voices 'are allowed' to speak their minds much more loudly than journalists, so a way in which authors may convey their views is through the choice of the informants they bring into the text and the information they choose to include or exclude." (Jullian, 2011, p. 767). The same conclusion was drawn by White (2006) some years earlier: "The media's own view of such an evaluative mechanism is that it is entirely compatible with authorial neutrality and objectivity" (p. 58). White means by 'evaluative mechanism' the use of quotations that would not adhere to journalistic norms of impartial reporting if the statements were presented by the journalists themselves.

The study by Jullian (2011) indicates that ideology cannot be excluded from texts, and even though journalists do not show bias directly, the choice of sources and quotes is influenced by journalists' and editors' ideologies and agendas. Jullian (2011) further notes that

In a way, it may be said that no other discourse type is more ideological than the news report since this genre is not overtly political, but the selection of the event, the framing, the sources, the way the events are presented, the heading, etc. are all ideological decisions. (p. 767)

Climate change and political news therefore are deeply influenced by ideologies. First of all, the events chosen will vary depending on the ideological and political stance of the newspaper in question. In addition, the way the event is then reported will be different depending on what the newspaper or other media outlet decides is their point of view of it. According to Jullian (2011), “The overall framing of the story and journalists’ support or challenge of such material unveils understated dispositions which may be the best way to make their own points and pass judgements almost unnoticeably” (p. 778). This way for everyday reader the ideological meaning behind the article may not be visible at all without deeper analysis.

Antilla (2005) writes that the U.S. media coverage of both believers and deniers of anthropogenic climate change has led to conflicting information for the public (p. 340). Although the sceptics are heavily outnumbered by those who are able to scientifically prove that anthropogenic climate change is real, they have been given almost an equal amount of press coverage. This, according to Antilla (2010), is due to the fact that the journalistic norms in the U.S. press require balanced attention to every side of each issue (p. 241). Additionally, The effects of journalistic norms of presenting equally and avoiding bias that have led to battle of competing views of climate change (Antilla, 2005, p. 340). Schäfer (2015) additionally notes the competition between different actors to get their conflicting opinions on the matter heard (p. 854).

In a peer reviewed commentary Park (2017) discusses the possible outcomes of the US climate change media coverage amidst the announcement of Trump’s decision to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement. The commentary identifies four major features that have affected climate change journalism in US mainstream media long before Trump’s administration. The four features are commercial interests of newspaper owners and editors, the ‘balance norm’ that dictates journalistic work, a steadily declining number of climate news stories overall, and finally the influence old fossil fuel industry has (Park, 2017).

Hulme and Norton (2019) have identified four categories of climate change related news stories in the UK newspaper editorials. The categories are labelled as ‘lukewarmer story’, ‘Ecoactivist story’, ‘smart growth reformer story’, and ‘ecomodernist story’ (p. 117). ‘Lukewarmer story’ is defined as acknowledging the reality of climate change, but ignoring the detrimental effects of it, rather focusing on the positive sides (p. 117). ‘Ecoactivist story’ on the other hand also acknowledges the reality of climate change, but focuses on the detrimental effects of it (p. 118). A ‘smart growth reformer story’ also recognizes the realities of climate change, but approaches solutions through market behaviors (p.

119). Lastly, 'ecomodernist story' focuses on the developmental possibilities that would be required to fight climate change (p. 119). Additionally, the study found that these qualities in the stories were sometimes mixed together (p. 120). These represent four different kinds of approaches to climate related issues in editorials. Similarities to the US journalistic norms of equal representation bears the 'lukewarmer story', because even though the issue of climate change is accepted as a reality, the issue is not seen as pressing and requiring immediate drastic actions.

News frames are, as the term suggests, the skeleton of how the story is told. The frame essentially defines what is told of the story and what is left out (Altheide, 1997, p. 651). Lück et al (2018) have studied the narrative frames of climate change news. In the study, US media is found to attribute the role of the victims of climate change to nations and people outside of the US. Furthermore, the roles are assigned to "the developing countries, poor countries, small island states and so forth." (Lück et al, 2018, p. 1645).

Saffron (2013) notes that "two visual frames are prominent" when analysis focused on climate change related news in newspaper. Those visual frames are 'contested' and 'distancing' (Saffron, 2013, p.10). Distancing refers to the usually faraway nature of climate change impacts to the Western world, whereas contested refers to the politic nature of climate change, where the imagery consists of politicians and climate change activists (Saffron, 2013).

Appraisal theory is also interested in evaluative language. The theory was founded by James R. Martin in the 1990s. Wei et al (2015) summarises appraisal theory as examining how people judge others' output, their sentences, events and so on, and bond with those who share similar judgements. Soo-Guan Khoo's et al (2012) definition is "appraisal is multi-dimensional, encompassing polarity, attitude, actors involved, graduation and engagement" (p. 871).

According to Wei et al (2015) the term 'appraisal' contains all the semantic tools writers can utilise to convey different sentiments to the readers. Since the theory's beginning three key features of appraisal between two major constituents, the appraised and appraiser: attitude, graduation, and engagement (Soo-Guan Khoo et al, 2012). Attitude is defined as "the essence of emotion the appraiser conveys about the object" (p. 862). These emotions can be expressed formally and in a way that is not as obvious as traditional expressions of, for example, joy or anger (Soo-Guan Khoo et al, 2012). Wei et al highlight attitude as the most essential of the three features. Graduation is defined as referring to "... the strength or force of emotion and attitude in each appraisal group." Adverbs are often used to express graduation (Soo-Guan Khoo et al., 2012) Engagement refers to the way

sentiment is delivered. It can be either indirect or direct, meaning it is either expressed by the speaker or writer themselves, or indirect when the speaker or writer credits another source (Soo-Guan Khoo et al., 2012)

Soo-Guan Khoo et al (2012) note that previous research in Appraisal Theory and politics has focused on mainly polarising classifications. Additionally, it is pointed out that “The frameworks used in different studies are not only incomparable and inconsistent, but are also not grounded in formal linguistic and psychological theories about sentiment and its expression.” (Soo-Guan Khoo et al, 2012, p. 861)

Appraisal theory and news values appear to complement each other in theoretical level. Both have similar attributes, even though they technically come from different disciplines. Therefore, both have been applied in the analysis.

4. Research material

The research material consists of twenty articles from *The Washington Post* reporting events related to the U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement in 2017 (articles listed under Appendix). The time period examined is from 1st of June to June 7th, 2017. Selecting the newspaper for the analysis was heavily influenced by accessibility. The reasoning behind the decision to choose a newspaper from the United States for the analysis is the language and their connection to the matter. Another factor was the circulation numbers. Although newspapers that reach wider audience are not automatically better or more factual than smaller newspapers, in this paper larger circulation does have a role in the analysis.

An additional factor was the political leaning of the paper. Complete neutrality in the current political atmosphere of the U.S. is not possible to achieve. However, *The Washington Post* was chosen with the intention that the newspaper should not be heavily biased. The political leaning of the newspaper has fluctuated from democratic to republican over its existence (Britannica Academic, 2017). It must be acknowledged, however, that nowadays *The Washington Post* is viewed as liberal-leaning newspaper and therefore it is not entirely neutral in its reporting. The classification is based on two media bias checking websites, Media Bias/Fact Check and Media Bias Chart (“Washington Post”, 2019; Interactive Media Bias Chart® 5.0, 2019).

The political leaning of the publication can possibly influence the tone and contents of the articles. Hence, all the press conferences and press releases related to the withdrawal announcement will also be read and watched. By doing this, possible bias in the articles can be revealed.

The withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement was one of Donald Trump’s presidential campaign promises for his victorious presidential campaign in 2016. President Trump has expressed multiple times his scepticism towards anthropogenic climate change, both before and after his first presidential term. The Paris Climate Agreement was one of the last achievement President Barack Obama reached before the end of his final term.

The timeline set for this study is a seven-day period that includes the day of the announcement until the week after. This way enough research material could be accumulated, while the topic still holds its newsworthiness. Every article that mentions the Paris Agreement during the appointed timeline has been analysed.

The Washington Post, hereinafter *TWP*, was established in 1877 (The Washington Post, 2016). Throughout its history, especially since the later decades of the 20th century the newspaper has been acknowledged as one of the greatest newspapers in the United States, publishing groundbreaking articles that have led to significant resignations of prominent political figures. *TWP* has been awarded the Pulitzer prize more than 60 times (Britannica, T. E.).

The motto of the newspaper is “*Democracy dies in the darkness*”, which can be found underneath the paper’s name (Staff, 2016). Seven principles that were established by the previous owner Eugene Meyer in 1935 are to this date upheld in the newspaper (Staff, 2016). The seventh principle, highlighting the equal and unbiased treatment of issues, coincides with the general U.S news principle of giving equal amount of attention to each side of an issue.

Currently the newspaper is owned by billionaire Jeff Benzos (Staff, 2016). *TWP* is one of the three most widely circulated daily newspapers in the United States (Newspapers Fact Sheet, 2020). *TWP* does not express any stance towards climate change in the policy statement (Staff, 2016). However, as anthropogenic climate change has been scientifically proven, the tone of *TWP* has evolved as well. Nowadays the climate change deniers do not receive as favourable coverage as those who speak for it.

Prior to the US’ withdrawal announcement on June 1st, 2017, *The Washington Post* published four articles dealing with the possibility of President Trump withdrawing the U.S. from the Paris Climate Agreement. In *TWP* the speculation of President Trump’s decision made the front page the day before the announcement on 1st of June 2017. Additionally, an article discussing the cooled relations between Germany and the US was published the day before the announcement. The articles after the announcement therefore assume the reader to have some prior knowledge of the Paris Climate Agreement and President Trump’s stance on it. The withdrawal made front page news on three days.

The Washington Post published articles of the withdrawal of the Paris Agreement and issues related to it for six days, but on the 8th of June there were no articles. No articles are dated for June 4th, because *TWP* does not print papers on Mondays. Articles of the announcement numbered to twenty-one in total in *TWP* on the days following the announcement.

At the same time with the announcement the news were handling the claims and investigations of the Russian meddling with the US 2016 presidential election. The news regarding testimonies to be made of the accusations began to appear on the front page on 7th of June. This affected the time and amount of attention given to the Paris Climate Agreement withdrawal announcement.

5. Research Methodology

The main theories the study is based on are subgenres of multimodal discourse analysis, more specifically ecolinguistic discourse analysis and theory on evaluative language in news media. Various climate change discourses are created by different groups, each serving that particular groups' purposes (Fleming et al, 2014, p. 408). As news media has changed rapidly over the past few decades, the study of news media has become more intersectional. The focus of this paper is on how the withdrawal has been reported, e.g. which language tools are utilised in headlines and main body of the text, how pictures are positioned to draw attention and support the article, and how much attention is paid to the event throughout the inspection period. The evaluative parameters introduced by Bednarek (2010) are in a major role in the analysis.

Other online sources utilised in this paper were found through relevant websites, such as the United Nations' Paris Climate Agreement web page, The U.S. Department of State's website, and YouTube. Access to *The Washington Post* was gained through www.pressreader.com. Articles were manually picked by close reading through the newspapers published in the seven-day period used in this study. The articles chosen to this study all relate directly to the withdrawal and the Paris Climate Agreement. In total twenty-one articles from *TWP* are analysed from the seven-day period.

Multimodal discourse analysis and discourse analysis, more specifically ecolinguistic discourse analysis provides the base for the study. A review of related theories of news production will be introduced. Additionally, theories on evaluative language and multimodal discursive news values are explored.

Discourse analysis studies the underlying ideologies and power relations of texts. Kress and van Leeuwen state discourses to be constructed socially (2001, p.4). Discourse analysis can be summarised, although plainly, to deal with three categories. Schiffrin et al (2003) describe those categories as "(1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practise that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language." (p. 1).

Richardson (2006) states that language has 'power' and that it is 'political', among other properties. The discourse of newspapers therefore has a shaping quality to it. Richardson further explains that it is especially important to remember these qualities when conducting research on journalistic discourses, since these properties can mould the opinions and views of the audience (Richardson, 2006).

Gunter (2000 p. 83) categorises in *Media research methods* discourse analysis as a type of qualitative content analysis. Content analysis is used to study various kinds of materials. Therefore, it has developed multiple uses of its techniques (Carney, 1972, p. 22). One of the dominating, broader, definition of content analysis is that it is a method used to objectively theorize based of evidence the characterising qualities of texts. This definition still has not been agreed on mutually but has been accepted as a broad basis for the technique (p.25). Content analysis has its history in newspapers and studies made out of them (p. 27). It is the structural nature of content analysis that makes it an applicable technique to support research with discourse analysis as the main research technique.

Although content analysis has faced criticism for not providing a thorough enough basis for research, it provides the basic structure for selecting the materials analysed in this paper. According to Gunter (2000) analysis of an issue in newspapers demands the researcher to first select the publications and determine the timeline of the analysis, meaning from what period of time the publications are from. Second important factor to determine is the identifiers used to distinguish the researched materials from the rest of the newspaper (p. 61).

Among researchers, the text has been the central focus of media discourse studies (Schiffrin et al, 2001, p. 416). The study of media discourse generally utilizes multiple disciplines and is perceived as a cross-disciplinary subject (Schiffrin et al, 2001, p. 418). van Dijk proposes that in media research “All levels and dimensions of analysis need to be attended to” (van Dijk, 1985, p. 4). This means that in print media the entirety of the page needs to be analysed, both each section independently, and the layout as a whole (van Dijk, 1985, p. 4; van Dijk, 1988, p. 25).

Bednarek and Caple (2010) note that in environmental reporting studies using the ecolinguistic framework there has been little to none use of multisemiotic discourse analysis (p. 4). Multisemiotic news story is defined as having the reported event retold through pictures of the event, or relating straight to it, and words (Bednarek and Caple, 2010, p. 4).

Fowler theorises ‘news’ as social construction, explaining that “a discourse which, far from neutrally reflecting social reality and empirical facts, intervenes with what Berger and Luckmann call ‘the social construction of reality’.” (1991, p.2). Bednarek and Caple (2012) additionally argue that “news is a *construct*”, and further explain that

[...] the focus here is not on the potential value of news events or on cognitive beliefs/value judgments, but rather on how such events are mediated through language and image—how news

discourse makes them newsworthy. From this perspective, newsworthiness is a discursive value that is established by language and image in use (Bednarek and Caple, 2012 p. 105)

Following this guideline, “Representation, in the Press as in all other kinds of media and discourse, is a constructive practice.” (Fowler, 1991, p. 25). News agencies elect what is worth reporting. Hence, the matters in the world are given only a limited coverage, affecting directly to the way people perceive the world (Fowler, 1991, p.11). Following these perspectives, Gunter also theorises that news is a construction created by ideologies (p. 88). However, Fowler (1991) notes that although the newspaper elects the reported matters and the language used, the reader still maintains their own perspective and ideologies, which affects the way they understand the news (p. 41).

News frames give the news piece a structure which determines how and what of the story is told. Altheide (1997) writes about ‘problem frame’ in news media (p. 657). The problem frame is generally constructed of six components. An unwanted occurrence or existence, which leads to it influencing the lives of numerous people, therefore making it relevant. The components of the occurrence or existence are distinguishable and there are ways to fix the problem. Often times the party with resources and responsibility to fix the problem is the government (Altheide, 1997, p. 655). News covering anthropogenic climate change can nowadays be analysed utilising the ‘problem frame’, since the issues of climate change have been brought closer to Western societies, and the events related to it are no longer only concerning countries far away from the newspaper audiences.

The stylistics in news discourse follow a distinct style set by the newspaper. Generally, the style of discourse is formal, and objectivity is preferred (van Dijk, 1988, p. 27). Even though the style of news discourse is formal, journalists have multiple linguistic devices that can be used to create news values in addition to evaluative language. These include emotive vocabulary to describe reactions, intensification, quantification, metaphor, simile, juxtaposition, negative lexicon, and describing on personal level the events that have taken place (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 106). The sentence structure can be modified to highlight what is perceived to be important, or to emphasize (Fowler, 1991, p.). Journalists may presuppose the readers possess some amount of information about the reported event. In these instances, the journalist may cut information to make the story more coherent and flowing (van Dijk, 1991, p. 37).

In addition to textual variables, it is important to note that “newspapers are businesses” (Richardson, 2006). Hence, there are always some forces behind the news stories that inevitably make completely

neutral reporting impossible, in addition to ideological differences between people. Even though newspapers aim at neutrality and balanced reporting, true neutrality cannot exist when money is involved.

As noted by Bednarek and Caple (2012), the context and the supposed readership of the newspaper should be accounted in the study. *The Washington Post* has a left-centre or left-leaning bias, according to the media bias checks. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume the readership consists of people with similar values. Jullian notes that ideologies behind newspaper may go unnoticed if the readers possess similar ideologies (p. 767).

The case study was conducted using the electronic facsimile of *The Washington Post* on www.pressreader.com. The newspapers were manually read, and the articles were picked based on their relevance. In the end, every article that mentions the Paris Climate Agreement was included in the analysis. The articles were first analysed in three separate sections: the headlines, the article texts, and images and graphics. Then, the findings were organised in order to discover common themes and further the analysis. Theoretical section of this paper was utilised to support the discoveries, as well as draw parallels and notice differences to previous research.

The interest of the analysis is on how the articles build the image of the US, and more specifically of President Donald Trump, in relation to anthropogenic climate change. Are there indications present, for example, through the use of linguistic devices that the US and President Trump have been assigned the role of ‘the enemy’ against the rest of the world in the fight against anthropogenic climate change in the newspaper’s view, or does the newspaper retain its neutral position?

The analysis will refer to the articles’ body of text as ‘text’, which does not equate to the term ‘text’ commonly used in discourse studies meaning the entire content analysed. The special interest of this study is the linguistic tools used to create the discourse of confrontation between the US and the rest of the world. Vocabulary, rhetorical techniques, and images and graphics are analysed to gain insight on what the stance of *The Washington Post* is on the matter, and what kind of image the newspaper is presenting to the audience of the event.

6. Case study: Creating an image of the US as a “climate outlaw”

The following analysis identifies the linguistic tools used in headlines and in the texts to create the image of the US as an “climate outlaw”. The analysis consists of the language used, as well as the linguistic choices utilised to create the image of the US as a central player in world politics gone rogue. The analysis also utilises Jullian (2011) and White’s (2006) ideas on evaluation and quotations to express indirectly the ideologies and opinions behind the journalists and editors. Additionally, attention is given to images and graphics used. All quotes from the news articles are presented in italics to highlight their role as the research material

The articles are grouped in to three different themes: International reactions of climate experts and high-status individuals, Domestic reactions of high-status individuals and citizens who are likely affected by the withdrawal decisions, and Donald Trump’s stance on anthropogenic climate change. The grouping is based on thorough reading and analysis. International group includes articles that dominantly cover opinions and matters of international scale, i.e. UN meetings and politicians’ statements from other countries than the US.

The International reactions are an important part of the analysis, since the Paris agreement has been held in significant stature as a important step in international co-operation against anthropogenic climate change. With the announcement that the US is withdrawing from the agreement, in which it had a prominent role in creating and upholding, the responses and reactions from the other member nations were strong and opposing to the decision, announcing in return that the US’ role as a world leading country would be seriously affected by the apparent unwillingness to co-operate in climate matters.

The Domestic theme includes articles that focus on reactions from US politicians and citizens. There are both those who support Trump’s decision to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement, and those who are against it. The journalists do appear to favour those voices that are against leaving the Paris agreement and are otherwise critical of the Trump administration.

The Donald Trump’s stance on anthropogenic climate change theme covers the aspect of climate change denial of the US president Donald Trump that is brought up multiple times in *The Washington Post* articles. Donald Trump’s climate change scepticism has been a known feature that contributed to the decision to withdraw from the Paris agreement from even before Trump’s election as the president of the US. Therefore, it is brought up multiple times how different views the Trump

administration now holds, and in which direction it steers the US climate politics, than the previous Obama administration that was responsible for achieving the Paris climate agreement.

Newspaper articles rarely are comprised of only single theme. Hence, only a few articles can be appointed to purely one theme, so there is overlap between the articles and themes. Therefore, majority of the articles are featured under more than one subsection.

6.1. International reactions and effects on world politics

The effect on international relations and politics, and reactions from other world leaders were heavily present in the articles. Out of the eighteen articles used in the case study, four covered solely international politics related to the Paris Agreement. Additionally, two articles that covered more than one of the categorisations also covered the international politics aspect of the withdrawal. Further division can be made into the US and the reactions of the rest of the world, the US president Trump and other world leaders, and the effects on anthropogenic climate change on global scale.

The division between climate experts and world leaders and political experts was made based on titles given to the people interviewed and quoted. The reason why world leaders and political experts are grouped together is that the two have more in common in terms of territory than climate experts and political experts. Additionally, close confidants of politicians are also included in the group of world leaders and political experts, because there are articles in which they wish to remain anonymous. The articles did not cover any aspect of common people from other countries.

6.1.1. The reception of climate experts

Climate change reporters consult authority figures to create value to the news articles (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007, p. 1193). Because personalisation is such an important news tool, climate change news generally have some key figures the reporting focuses on in order to become newsworthy. *TWP* utilises multiple different expert sources to comment on the possible effects of the exit of the Agreement. Additionally, Boykoff & Boykoff's (2007) idea of 'personalised battles' appears in the articles in *TWP* in both international context, as well as in domestic context.

Multiple statements by climate change experts outside the US are included in the articles. Researchers and experts from Norway, Germany, the Netherlands, Japan, India, China, and the US are quoted in

the articles. The consensus among the climate experts interviewed and quoted for the articles is that the withdrawal decision will be a problem for the rest of the world in the battle against climate change.

As the issue of the US withdrawing from the Paris Agreement does not only affect the US when it comes to climate change, some articles do focus on the global effects of the US withdrawal. These articles rely heavily on quotes and statements by climate experts. From the introducing sentence of the article, *President Trump's decision Thursday to withdraw the United States from the Paris climate agreement could make it difficult, if not impossible, for the world to stay on track to reach an internationally agreed-upon goal for limiting dangerous global warming, scientists said.*

(Mooney, 2017, A1), one can observe the use of a quote to state something that would not be in accordance with the journalistic norms were it stated directly by the journalist.

Additionally, the direct quote from US- based scientist about the goals of the Paris agreement (in the same article) *was already hard when all of the key countries were rowing together* shows bias against Trump's decision. The adverb '*already*' adds subtle negativity. The metaphor of '*rowing together*' means the world was going in the same direction, but now as the US is withdrawing from the agreement the rest of the '*rowers*', meaning the countries in Paris agreement, will have to compensate the missing rower in order to stay on course. The quote continues by stating the following: *With the US becoming a climate outlaw by withdrawing from Paris, the target becomes nearly impossible.* (Mooney, 2017, p. A1) Branding the US as '*climate outlaw*' is quite a flashy statement, but also quite well describes the role the US will undertake by withdrawing from the agreement, since only two other UN- member countries are not part of the agreement. Moreover, the branding is done by a source, not the journalist, but the quote was chosen by the journalist and editor, hence being influenced by the ideologies behind the newspaper.

As the second highest greenhouse gas emitter in the world, the role of the US was remarkable not only financially, but also in reducing pollution and the amount of greenhouse gasses, thus achieving the sub- 2-degree goal. It is difficult predict how exactly the US withdrawal will affect climate change, as noted in multiple scientific articles. In the article *Trump to pull nation out of global climate pact* (Mooney, 2017, A1) it is admitted in the beginning of the article that climate change predictions *is not exact science*. However, the same article continues to refer and cite expert sources that state such things as *President Trump's withdrawal [...] will likely make it more difficult and costly overall to meet the Paris Agreement temperature goal* (Mooney, 2017, p. A1). There appears to be some contradicting statements and opinions presented. This could be due to the expectation of

unbiased reporting. However, this article, or any other article in *TWP* related to the withdrawal announcement does not present any positive possibilities as an outcome of the withdrawal from the Paris agreement. Additionally, every climate expert statement quoted highlight the fact that to achieve the Paris goal of sub- 2-degree climate warming, all the countries that ratified the agreement should do their part. Now, with the US exiting the agreement and becoming a ‘*climate outlaw*’, as described by one of the experts in the article, the possible effects on climate change remain a mystery to scientists but the consensus remains that the effects are highly unlikely to be positive in any way.

The sub-headline *Move could put a difficult target out of reach* (Mooney, 2017, p. A1) acknowledges the difficulties of actions against climate change. As the US is one of the main producers of greenhouse gasses (United States Environmental Protection Agency, n.d.), the role the country has in the Paris Agreement was not only considerable in financially but also in the commitment of decreasing world’s pollution. Without the US, other countries will have to stay more rigorously committed to their promises. Trump’s reasoning was also reportedly influenced by a research stating that the Paris agreement would not have much effect. One expert is quoted saying that *The logic that ‘This isn’t making much progress on a serious problem, therefore we’re going to do nothing,’ just doesn’t make sense to me.* (Kessler & Hee Lee, 2017, p. A1). This also furthers the image of the US diverting from the common goal that the rest of the nations remaining in the Paris agreement still have.

Whereas the states and businesses in the US will become responsible to battle climate change on behalf of the US, the rest of the world will now have to stay even more committed to their goals. There is some contemplation on whether the US withdrawal will affect negatively other countries’ motivation. Sentences such as *That’s assuming the international community remains committed to the 2-degree goal. and it would be even more consequential if the U.S. departure from the Paris agreement caused other countries to weaken their commitments or lower their ambitions.* (Mooney, 2017, p. A1), and *The U.S. withdrawal is bound to badly damage the accord’s credibility and the chances of keeping the rest of the world focused on the tough choices ahead.* (Denyer & Gowen, 2017, p. A11) once again assign the US the role of a global leader, as it is reasonable to assume as the role of the US has been historically remarkable in global politics, but the role is consequently deflated as an expert states that China and India are already ‘*overcompensating*’ in their emission cuttings (Mooney, 2017, p. A1), and hence the US is already behind in global development.

Also, the full quote in the article expresses China's willingness to develop green energy, which will give it an advance in the global energy markets ahead of the US. The implication that the US is falling behind in clean energy development is brought up often in the articles. China's, the biggest competitor to the US in markets, monetary investments in clean energy development are reported. Also, India's advancements in solar and wind energy are outlined in the same article. The US' new direction of unwillingness to invest in clean energy, whereas its competitors are willing, further advantages the image that the US is becoming a '*climate outlaw*'.

Overall, *TWP* recognises the difficulties of predicting the future of climate change. As has been noted by previous studies (i.e. Nerlich et al, 2010; Kumpu, 2016), the unpredictability of the effects of climate change has been a big factor in climate change reporting, and what has made it possibly somewhat difficult subject to report on without a supporting event. However, the expert statements and reactions to the withdrawal decision included in the articles give the reader a clear message; the US withdrawal and possible non-commitment to battle climate change on nation-level will only do harm. The responsibility, however, falls from the US president and the Trump administration to states' governors and companies.

6.1.2. Reactions of world leaders and political experts

The event becomes easier to report and more interesting to readers when certain figures are drawn into the news (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007, p.1197). The articles use quotes from high-status figures such as German Chancellor Angela Merkel, China's President Xi Jinping, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and many other prime ministers and presidents especially from Europe. Former US president Barack Obama, who had a pivotal role in the forming of the Paris climate agreement is also mentioned multiple times in the news articles. Additionally, political experts are quoted in connection with the Paris agreement withdrawal and international relations between the US and the rest of the nations that have ratified the Paris agreement. The withdrawal announcement was made after Trump's foreign tour, where he visited Europe and Saudi- Arabia. It was reported that German Chancellor Angela Merkel, among other European head-of-the-states', were not content with President Trump's demeanour during his visits. These reports give additional background to the articles about the Paris Agreement, creating seemingly a rift in the relations between the European countries and the US that the withdrawal will only deepen.

The first front page headline following the announcement, *Trump to pull nation out of global climate pact* (Mooney, 2017, p. A1) utilises linguistic devices juxtaposition and negative vocabulary. The term ‘pull out’ has a military connotation, used to signify retreat from unsuccessful operation. The use of the word ‘global’ in contrast to ‘nation’ accentuates the separation between the US and the rest of the world. However, by mentioning Trump as the acting agent against the global consensus, the US nation is in a way excluded from the decision. Additionally, as Trump is mentioned as the acting agent it could be argued that it further highlights the opposing views the rest of the nation is appointed as a whole, and the views the president has on anthropogenic climate change and the effectiveness of the Paris climate agreement.

Personalisation plays a significant role in climate change journalism because two opposing sides create tension, which in turn creates possible drama. These ‘personalised battles’ create a fruitful base on which climate stories can be embedded, while making them interesting to the public (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007, p. 1192) Firstly, the simple mention of the person’s status and occupation gives the readers immediately a sense on authority. Moreover, high-status figures statements are often given as a direct quote. The articles use multiple quotes from politicians from Germany, India, and other countries that are markable influence on the field of world politics. In addition to the US being officially on different path with climate change policies, President Trump’s views are reported as controversial and opposing the views of nearly every other world leader.

With the US withdrawing from the Paris Agreement, the global politics are estimated to shift by *TWP*. Headlines such as *Experts see shift in global leadership in U.S. withdrawal* (Morello & Wagner, 2017, p. A14) and *Europe’s view of U.S. ties darkens* (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A1) highlight the division anthropogenic climate change creates nowadays in world politics. The role of the US has been significant in the world politics. The financial, cultural, and peace-making (or -breaking), policies have affected the world politics for over a century. Whether it has been wars with other nations in the time of otherwise nearly global peace, or the market crashes, the rest of the world has been affected, possibly more than it would have been by other nation’s actions. The US has additionally been a historically important ally to European nations, both in national defence issues, and financial issues. Now, in the article *Explanation for Paris exit is based on spurious claims* the journalist implies the US has become stingy: *43 governments have pledged money to the fund, including nine developing countries.* (Kessler & Hee Lee, 2017, p. A1.) One of the biggest influences Trump mentioned as the reason to withdraw was the perceived financial exploitation of the US. Thus, this argument that not

only are other countries contributing financially, but developing countries as well, highlights just how unfavourable the US is starting to look for other countries.

In the articles as well, the unity and commitment of the leaders of countries to the Paris Agreement becomes apparent. The reactions of world leaders are reported and quoted carefully. The ideologies behind *TWP* can be seen in the choice of quotes and sources, as Jullian's (2011) study suggests. In the articles published on June 2nd, phrases such as *The leaders of France, Germany and Italy issued a joint statement, a chorus of world leaders urging Trump* (Johnson & Rucker, 2017. p. A14), the Prime Minister of India standing together with German Chancellor Angela Merkel stating that *failing to act on climate change was a morally criminal act* (Denyer & Gowen, 2017, p. A11), and on 3rd of June it is reported that European leaders are *steeling themselves for years of conflict with Trump* (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13). Quotes of high foreign official stating that "*Anti-Americanism will bloom,*" (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13) and condemning the decision to withdraw further unite the rest of the pact parties against the US. The choice of these quotes, in addition to adding dramatization and creating confrontational image of the relations between the US and the rest of the pact countries, especially European countries, shows how *TWP* views the political relations appear to be around the moment of the withdrawal decision. Again, by using quotes, the journalists are able to incorporate statements into the articles that would not be acceptable when said by the journalist directly. Words such as '*morally criminal*', '*Anti-Americanism*', and '*failing to act*' all carry a negative connotation. Declaring something is morally criminal or someone is failing to act on something, in this case climate change, does not give off the image that the person saying such things has a positive, or high, view of the person, organisation, or country in question.

For a newspaper based in the US written for readers from the US, the term '*Anti-Americanism*' cannot be positive. '*Anti-Americanism*', on an international scale could be a scary image for the readers, especially since the role of the US has been so prominent in the past decades in international matters. Again, this shows how big of a matter climate change now is in international politics, and how urgent acting on the matter has become. With '*Anti-Americanism*' being a possible result of the unwillingness of the US to act on climate change issues, the scale of the importance of the matter is brought out to the readers.

In the article *Europe's view of U.S. ties darkens* the sole focus nearly is on the effects on international political relations of Trump's actions since his inauguration. The accounts of Trump's European tour before the withdrawal announcement (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13.) are quite negative towards Trump.

Statements such as “*He clearly discarded the nice words for shock-and-awe effect*” and “*Trump seems to be more focused on winning votes than on embracing the mantle of leader of the free world.*” are made, which do not make Trump seem like a competent politician. The impression Trump left from his first European visit seems to be more like that of someone who does not understand the bigger scheme of matters, but instead focuses only on certain aspects. This impression especially comes from the statement “*Trump seems to be more focused on winning votes than on embracing the mantle of leader of the free world.*”, because the implication is Trump’s only interest is self-serving, to continue to second term in office, not general good in the world, such as common battle against climate change which is a global issue. Although, it must be acknowledged that most politicians do similarly aim to be able to continue in their jobs.

There are many anonymous sources used, which does make them a little questionable and takes away some of the authority. Although anonymous sources are not an anomaly in journalism, without a named source the reader may start to question the credibility more easily than when the source is named (Sternadori & Thorson, 2009). Anonymous source is also behind the information that German Chancellor Angela Merkel *did little to hide her disappointment*. The information is attributed to *someone who travelled with her*. (Birnbaum et al, 2017, p. A13.) The attribution ‘*someone*’ is highly vague and does not elicit much confidence in the credibility of the source. However, according to journalistic guidelines, when anonymous sources are used, the journalists “should explain fully why a source requested and was granted anonymity.” (Sternadori & Thorson, 2009) In *TWP* this is done, and the explanation is that the sources do not wish to publicly comment on Trump’s actions in fear of *further strain with the U.S.* (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13) The sources are described to be top diplomats and politicians. By bringing up that politicians from other nations do not want to ‘*further strain*’ the relations between the US and the rest of the world brings to readers’ attention that there are other matters too that affect the relations, and those matters have already created tensions.

There is also widely reported concern on the effect to the US’ role in world politics. Especially the growing role of China as the replacer of the US is brought up constantly. India is also branded as an *up-and-coming rival* of the US in world politics. (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13) The US, and more specifically Trump and his administration, is reported to not be in favour with other world leaders. These worries from high-profile sources accentuate the importance appointed to anthropogenic climate change in world politics. The role of ‘global leader’ is appointed to the US multiple times. The role of the US in global matters is significant, and it is interesting to notice the way this decision rises worries among the citizens and politicians. This further signifies the importance climate matters

have in today's politics in *TWP*'s view. As with the '*Anti-Americanism*' statements (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13), with climate change given such a big role in international politics that both the role of the US as a nation and as an influential culture are in danger the magnitude of the effects of the US' withdrawal becomes apparent to the readers. With other countries working together, the US joins a small amount of countries that are not part of the pact. So, the US as a '*climate outlaw*', not working with other countries but rather against them, the role of 'global leader' that is appointed multiple times both by journalists themselves and sources, is in jeopardy. The issue that is essentially brought up in *TWP* is: how could a country working against common goals on such a significant matter be a 'global leader' anymore?

There is juxtaposition between the US, China, and India brought up in *TWP*. China and India, two countries which previously were suspicious of the actions against climate change, are now publicly addressing the issue and demanding action and it is noted in *TWP: The strong public comments now underline how far opinion has moved in both countries*. (Denyer & Gowen, 2017, p. A11.) US, on the other hand, is retreating from action against climate change, even though its role as a leader in climate change issues has been pivotal in previous years (Denyer & Gowen, 2017, p. A11). Moreover, a Chinese high-status individual is quoted saying the development of green energy in China will not stop no matter *how the other countries' positions are changing*" and a high-status minister from India is quoted saying "*India remains committed to its Paris pledge – no matter what happens in the rest of the world.*" and "*Sadly the developed world does not show the same commitment to fulfill their promises*" (Denyer & Gowen, 2017, p. A11). Since the quotes are in the context of the US decision to withdraw from the Paris agreement, they can be read as being responses directed towards the US. It is unclear whether the quotes are translated, or whether the individuals are quoted directly.

Additionally, it is mentioned that analysts are worried of the effects the Paris Agreement withdrawal decision could have on international relations. A quote from political risk-assessor states that "*Having pulled out of the Paris accord, after sowing doubt at NATO and killing the TPP, President Trump is on the way to ending the U.S.-lead international order*" (Morello & Wagner, 2017, p. A14) Another German high-status individual condemns Trump's actions as the president of one of the leading countries in the world: "*You get the feeling that sometimes the U.S. president first and foremost speaks to his voters in the U.S. and not as the leader of the biggest and most important country in the world*" (Birnbaum, p. 2017, A13). A quote from Belgian's prime minister "*Leadership means fighting climate change together. Not forsaking commitment.*" (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13) repeats the chorus

that is popular in the *TWP* articles: the failure to commit to global action against anthropogenic climate change is seen as a weakening factor in the role of the US on global political stage.

The tightening ties with Europe and China are also a concern *TWP* brings up many times. As the US ties with Europe are reported to deteriorate, the growing friendliness between Europe and China's relationship is reported to take that space. However, even though the articles have statements such as *The 3½ days of meetings between Trump and the Europeans may stand as a turning point in an alliance that was born from the ashes of World War II* (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13) and *Trump's decision to exit the landmark agreement will damage the United States' international standing on climate issues* (Mufson, June 2nd, 2017, p. A13) paint a grim picture, there are some comments and quotes that soften the condemning words. Even though the reception of the US withdrawal announcement was mainly negative, and *TWP* brought forward many rejecting and pessimistic responses from world leaders and political experts expecting damage to the relations between the US and especially Europe, there were comments from European politicians that did not necessarily see harm in other areas than climate cooperation. French president Emmanuel Macron is quoted, through a secondary source, to have said to Trump that "*The United States and France will continue to work together, but not on the subject of climate change*" (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13).

In the same article it is maintained that *Trump's approach underscores how in barely four months he has succeeded in reshaping America's role in the world.* (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13). Without background knowledge of the situation, the statement could be easily interpreted as a positive praise. However, utilising evaluative language theory in the analysis and the background knowledge the journalist requires from the reader, it is easily identified as a negative view of Trump's achievement during his short time as the president of the US. The adverb '*barely*' combined with the rest of the sentence creates an inflated sense of the shortness of time. In addition to this, previous background knowledge of the remarkable role of the US as a 'global leader' that has had a considerable effect on politics across the world tells in the context of this article that this new role is not as wonderful and pompous. Instead, the writer means that the new role is that of a difficult outsider who is not invited to discuss issues that affect the whole world.

The new role of the US is not that of a leader, but that of straggler. This is backed up by a statement under the headline *Experts see shift in global leadership in U.S. withdrawal* where Trump is described by the journalists to have *cemented his reputation as the international disrupter in chief* (Morello & Wagner, 2017, A14). Trump's reluctance to adhere to agreements and discourteous behaviour

towards the European Union and NATO countries is seen as offensive and off-putting by the leaders of those countries. Trump's actions as the president of the US are seen as possibly damaging as can be observed from quotes from a US -based high-status individual, who states that "*Other countries will be less willing to engage with us*" and "*It creates a vacuum others will try to fill. It will make it harder for the United States to advance its interest.*" (Morello & Wagner, 2017, p. A14) a quote from Al Gore "*It undermines America's standing in the world*" (Johnson & Rucker, June 2nd, 2017, p. A14) Trump, therefore, is potentially creating a threat to the US international relations and interests abroad by reconsidering the international policies and agreements.

There are indications in *TWP* that the historical tug-of-war between a communist country China and capitalist US is still brewing: *But the old world order has been declining for years now, with China's rise as an economic and military power.* (Morello & Wagner, 2017, A14). Another political expert is quoted saying about the US withdrawal that "*The United States' retreat from leadership means China can move in America's wake. We're seeing the possibility of a shift in global leadership, away from Washington and the United States toward Beijing and China.*" (Morello & Wagner, 2017, A14.) Even though the ideology is not in itself now present, the ever-increasing power of China and decreasing power of the West is a powerful tool to use in news discourse. Now, with China taking lead in global climate change matters, the idea is constantly present in the articles about international relations that the US is being left behind. Even though the US is, under the Trump administration, leaving itself voluntarily out of this global pact.

In the spirit of the journalistic norm of balanced reporting, those who are not alarmed by the withdrawal decision's possible effects on the US' role in global political field are given a voice as well. One high-status individual states that "*The most important role for the United States is to lead by example*" (Morello & Wagner, 2017, A14). The quote refers to the economic role the US has, and again points out how economically devastating the Paris agreement would have been on the citizens of the US. The points brought up in the articles against the agreement appear to utilise the economic effects on the average people of the US, and how badly the measures needed to be taken to fight climate change would affect the employment rates of the US with traditional and non-clean energy producing methods disappearing.

When examining the images used in *The Washington Post*, the separation of President Trump from world leaders is especially highlighted. Most of the images that include him are of him alone, while other world leaders are always pictured together with other leader. The article reporting other countries'

leaders' commitment to the Agreement highlighted the unity with an image of Chancellor of German Angela Merkel and the prime minister of India Narendra Modi engaging with one another (Denyer and Gowen, 2017, p. A11). The day after the announcement the frontpage news features a large photo of President Trump. The atmosphere given in the photograph is grave. Once again, Trump is pictured alone. An image of former US president Barack Obama is featured under the headline *CALLS DEAL UNFAIR TO US WORKERS* (Johnson & Rucker, 2017, p. A14). Like Trump in nearly all of the pictures of him, Obama is alone in the image. However, unlike Trump whose backgrounds consist of building's pillars and some trees, in the background of Obama's picture there are the flags of China, the US, and the UN. This background of flags could be interpreted as signalling unity that the former president had with the UN and China, and with other international relations. Trump's backgrounds then again are vague, and do not display similar unity with other nations or organisations.

Under the headline *Experts see shift in global leadership in U.S. withdrawal* (Morello & Wagner, 2017, p. A14) is placed a photograph of Chancellor Merkel and NATO secretary general Jens Stoltenberg standing side by side. This is the only image that shows Trump together with the other leaders of the world. The photograph appears somewhat condescending, because secretary general Stoltenberg seems to have been caught mid-explanation, with his hand other hand on President Trump's shoulder, and the other on his chest, while President Trump stares at him without expression on his face. Under the headline *Europe's views of U.S. ties darkens* (Birnbaum, 2017, p. A13) Donald Tusk, the President of European Council, and the Chinese Premier Li Keqiang are pictured together having a conversation. The picture compliments the contents of the article, which expresses worries about the condition of US-Europe ties as China and Europe are becoming friendlier.

There are some indications that the journalists and editors of *TWP* thinks the leaders of other countries possibly pushed Trump to withdraw with their attempts to make him stay. Additionally, the power-play between Trump and others may have resulted in unwanted consequences. The French president Emmanuel Macron is described to be one participant in the unintentional push: *If he needed a nudge, though, one came from France over the weekend. and Hearing smack-talk from the Frenchman 31 years his junior irritated and bewildered Trump, aides said.* (Birnbaum et al, 2017, p. A13.) This quote both criticises Macron, but also gives an unfavourable picture of Trump. The president of one of the most powerful countries in the world is essentially admitted allowing pettiness to affect the decision making in important matters.

6.2.Domestic reactions and effects on politics

In addition to the international aspect, the possible effects on domestic politics and citizens of the US were reported. Not only were the articles focused on high-status figures, but also stories of workers in mining and solar energy industries were brought up. The articles focusing on the domestic issues the Paris Agreement withdrawal brings with it evidently outnumbered the other categorisations made in this paper: eleven out of the eighteen articles analysed covered domestic reactions. News values are used to bring the anthropogenic climate change issue closer to the citizens of the US. Proximity, which refers to the nearness of an event, is used by explaining and showing how industries and people in the US are affected by the withdrawal from the Paris agreement. Timeliness is used by talking about the issue while it is still relevant. Negativity is used by focusing on the negative aspects and outcomes of the decision. The effects of the withdrawal decision is brought out by the news value Impact, Prominence is used by using many high-status individuals, and on the other hand Personalisation is used by giving space to the US citizens who are affected by the Paris agreement. Prominence refers to the status of the individual, and the higher the status, the more influential they are perceived to be (Bednarek & Caple, 2010).

The separation between high-status individuals and ordinary people was made by the title given to the people mentioned, quoted, and interviewed in the articles. People who are working for the government, non-governmental research organisations, or other big businesses and therefore fit in the description of the news value Prominence. In other words, presidents, prime ministers, other politicians, researchers, and chief executive officers are grouped under 'high status individuals'. The group 'Citizens of the US' consists of workers and other people who do not have status as high as those in the 'high-status individuals'-group, such as local politicians. Branch managers, unemployed people, mayors, coal miners and solar energy workers are all included in this group. This distinction is important for the analysis both structurally, and as regard to content, because the articles in *TWP* utilise news values, in this case Prominence and Personalisation, to create these distinctions as well.

As mentioned by Boykoff and Boykoff (2007), dramatization can lead to climate change news becoming less desirable to journalists because they lack a certain "immediate sense of excitement or controversy." (Boykoff, 2007, p. 1192) At the same time as President Trump announced the US withdrawal from the Paris agreement, there was a scandal brewing over the accusations of Russia meddling with the US election that led to President Trump's election. This incident was more local

to the citizens of the US, more controversial, and was happening right there and then. Climate change news, such as news covering the withdrawal, decreased quickly in numbers or moved from the front page to smaller articles and mentions to favour the more scandalous and imminent threat to the US politics.

6.2.1. High-status individuals

The reactions of US politicians and other prominent figures were well documented, although showed bias in favour of the Trump-opposing side. This can be seen in the number of sources used that represented the for and against- stances towards the Paris agreement withdrawal. Furthermore, the domestic prominent figures featured more businesspeople than those from abroad. One of the reasons for this is the fact that Trump's advisory council included many businesspeople at the time.

The very first article begins with the words *President Trump's decision* (Mooney, 2017, p. A1). This is a sentence that repeats itself in several articles. The distinction is made often that the decision is indeed Trump's, which obviously is the case since he is the head of the US, but the US is not associated often as a whole with the decision in a favourable light. This can further be observed in formatting's such as *a future U.S. administration would reverse Trump's decision* (Mooney, 2017, A1). Although the statement is playing with possibilities of how the withdrawal could affect, if there are any effects, it can be read as separating Trump from the administration. The article continues to ponder if the harm Trump's decision is bound to cause could be compensated by action by states. The following line, *no matter what the Trump administration does on the federal level*, shows defiance against the current administration. 'No matter what' is a phrase used to express willingness to obtain a goal even though there are obstacles, so the statement could be interpreted in a way that sees the current administration as an obstacle in the battle against climate change.

Headlines need to attract the attention of the reader quickly and in a compressed amount of words. Therefore there can be some interesting features that come from the word limit, which can be seen in the headline *States, firms vow to press ahead with climate policies* (Mufson, 2017, p. A13) Although headlines are by nature condensed, this headline gives the impression that all of the states and firms in the US are committed to taking actions against climate change which is most likely due to the need to convey the main points of the article in limited words and attract the attention of the reader. An interesting word choice is employed as well. The phrasal verb '*press ahead*' has a meaning of "to

continue doing something in a determined way” (Hornby, 2010, p. 1198). The commitment to combat anthropogenic climate change issues on industry-level and state-level is emphasised, making it obvious the decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement is not what all corporations and states stand for. However, there are industries that benefit from the withdrawal decision, such as fossil fuel companies and the coal industry.

In the news article *CALLS DEAL UNFAIR TO U.S. WORKERS* (Johnson & Rucker, 2017 p. A14), the fact that the responsibility is passed over to states, businesses, and other administrative organisations in the US to continue the work against climate change and compensate the inactivity of the Trump administration is once again brought to the attention of the reader. Former president Barack Obama is quoted saying *I’m confident that our states, cities, and businesses will step up and do even more to lead the way, and help protect for future generations the one planet we’ve got.* (Johnson & Rucker, 2017, p. A14.)

Not only is the unity of other leaders and head of states in the US brought up repeatedly, the opposition to President Trump’s decision within the country he is the head of is accentuated. New York Governor, The Governor of California, and the Governor of Washington are reported to have planned to form a coalition, which aims to uphold the Paris Agreement objectives (Mufson, 2017, p. A13)

The headline *U.S. diplomat resigns over Paris pact* (Morello, 2017, p. A5) underlines the divisive nature of President Trump’s decision. A high-ranking official of foreign administration of the US is willing to give up their job because of the disagreement with climate change matters. The headline magnifies the role of the Paris Agreement in the person’s decision to resign. This was not the only reported resignation over the Agreement. Walt Disney Co.’s chief executive *resigned from the president’s advisory council* because of the decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement (Mufson, 2017, p. A13) Additionally, Elon Musk, the chief executive of Tesla is reported to have decided to leave from the advisory council because of the Paris agreement withdrawal (Johnson & Rucker, p. A14). These resignations reported as a direct consequence give weight to the side opposing President Trump’s decision, and hence present the side disagreeing with the scientific evidence of climate change as wrong. The higher the status of the source, the more convincing the claims become to the readers.

The U.S. withdrawal is connected to other cancellations President Trump has already enacted or plans to impose to President Obama’s achievements. Healthcare, environmental protection, sexual rights, and public safety have all been under revision during Trump’s presidency. The repeal of these

Obama-era achievements is commentated on relation to the withdrawal from Paris Agreement *He has worked to roll back dozens of health, environment, labor and financial rules put in place by former president Barack Obama, and he scrapped a far-reaching trade deal with Asia as one of his first acts in office.* (Eilperin et al, 2017, p. A4.) Negativity is created through linguistic choices. The article draws attention to the fact that Trump's first efforts in office have been undoing the work of his predecessor, instead of bringing about his own developments. Additionally, the use of the verb '*scrapped*' which is defined in dictionary as "to cancel or get rid of something that is no longer practical or useful" (Oxford Dictionary,), "and to get rid of something no longer useful or wanted" (Cambridge Dictionary,) but is also used in colloquial language when talking about destroying vehicles. *Trump, GOP find ending Obama's policies easier than enacting own agenda* (Eilperin et al, 2017, p. A4) uses negative language, where the used word '*easier*' holds negative value in this context. It gives off a critical view of the effort the Trump administration is willing to put in.

In addition to articles plainly focusing on the withdrawal from the Paris agreement, there are two articles that focus more on the political situation in the US, and briefly mention the Paris agreement as a factor in the changing political atmosphere. The withdrawal is again linked to Trump's other actions to repeal different laws and policies that were achieved by the Obama administration (Phillip & Wagner, June 3, 2017, p. A13) that aimed at achieving goals set to battle climate change and goals to more affordable healthcare in the US. By bringing forward and reminding the readers' that not only is Trump reversing actions and agreements against climate change, there are also plans to intervene with affordable healthcare for everyone, which does have a negative connotation surely for people who support those acts and policies. Furthermore, by grouping them together in such a manner TWP appears to highlight the negative actions Trump administration is taking.

It is acknowledged, however, that Trump's actions correlate with the promises made already during his election campaigning. Additionally, it is noted that while Trump is staying firm on his promises on withdrawing the US from Paris agreement, among other promises made against climate change policies, he is not as unyielding on other promises. (Morello & Wagner, 2017, p. A14.) Parallels are drawn with another Republican president, George W. Bush, who carried out similar withdrawal decision from the Kyoto treaty.

In the article under the aforementioned headline the journalist describes Trump as *Builder-turned-president* (Morello & Wagner, 2017, p. A4). The title is a little condescending, especially when it is followed by *made good on his promise to be a political wrecking ball* (Morello & Wagner, 2017, p.

A4). ‘*Wrecking ball*’, which is a destruction equipment used in demolition. This wordplay may be unintentional, but it is likely it was intentional. In this instance the term ‘*wrecking ball*’ is a reference to the way Trump began his presidential term, undoing the achievements during Barack Obama’s two presidential terms.

Additionally, former US president Barack Obama mentions in one article that “*even as this administration joins a small handful of nations that reject the future*” (Johnson & Rucker, 2017, p. A14). This kind of utterance from the former president, an undeniably authoritative figure, is strong. The US under the Trump administration is essentially again lowered from the status of the leading country in the world to the same level with developing countries that have no resources, and countries that have not ratified the Paris agreement and are not part of the progress that is perceived to be achieved by those countries that are part of it. The choice of the quote that additionally continues to pronounce that the responsibility is now on states, shows that Obama still has a strong voice in political matters. Although that may be obvious, since former presidents remain in high-status roles even after their presidential terms are over, this does bring out an interesting fact. There are quotes from former the Democratic president, and one from former democratic Vice President. However, there are no quotes from former Republican presidents or Vice Presidents. There could be multiple reasons for this: either there were no quotes available, or just the fact that the Paris agreement is strongly linked to Obama. Moreover, the democratic party is linked more to climate change related issues, and more specifically in actions taken against it. Therefore, in order to create some tension, the choice of democratic responses and reaction that come from different perspective than Trump’s decision and provide counter arguments or it does provide depth to the articles.

There are also positive quotes from those who saw the withdrawal from the Paris agreement a good thing for the US. Mainly Republican politicians are quoted praising Trump’s actions. However, these quotes are usually placed at the end of the articles and are significantly fewer in quantity. As an example, in the article *CALLS DEAL UNFAIR TO U.S. WORKERS* (Johnson & Rucker, 2012, p. A14) the first half of the article is dedicated to those who are against Trump’s decision. Sixteen out of the twenty-one reactions in the article were against Trump’s withdrawal decision. In other words, the readers’ first get shown mostly negative views of Trump’s decision that oppose leaving the Paris agreement, and then at the end of the articles there are some quotes from people who agree with Trump and the decision to leave the Paris agreement. This type of assembly is bound to affect the readers’ views on the matter. However, since *TWP* ideologically and politically is more left-leaning

it is expected that the readership consists of people who do not share similar views with the republican president, hence making the structures of the article relevant.

The same pattern repeats in other articles as well. Opinions in agreement with Trump are given clearly less space than those who do not agree with his decision. Although there are sources and quotes from both those against Trump's decision and those who support it, the majority of space and voice is given to those who are against the withdrawal decision. Examples of these placements can be found in the news articles *Rules put in reverse; legislation still in park* (Eilperin et al, 2017) and *Trump to pull nation out of global climate pact* (Mooney, 2017) where the majority of space is given to people voicing opposing views of the withdrawal decision. There are exceptions, however. Even though many of President Trump's close aids and government official appointed by him express their support for the withdrawal, there were reportedly opposition even from the President's closest circle. President Trump's daughter, who also serves as his advisor, made visible contributions in an attempt to persuade the President deciding against withdrawal.. Sentences such as *who argued that the president would have more leverage by remaining an active participant in the climate deal.* and *pushed the case that the president would have more leverage if he remained part of the agreement and negotiated from within.* (Birnbaum et al, June 2, 2017, p. A13) reveal that the argument the people close to Trump who tried to persuade the president to stay in the Paris agreement reportedly used the reason that by remaining part of the agreement the US would have more influence in the climate politics in the world. By constantly focusing attention to the fact that the reasons behind defending the Paris agreement are not because the defenders believe in anthropogenic climate change, but because of political reasons and, more importantly, for reasons of having power over others, subtly undermine Trump's entourage even though they are seemingly on the same side with TWP's ideologies in this case.

The withdrawal decision is linked to President Trump's political standing in the country in multiple articles. It is made clear that the issue is not only environmental but affects the domestic and foreign political atmosphere in the U.S. as well. The attempt to create equal opportunities for developed and developing countries was one factor that had an effect in Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement.

The withdrawal from Paris agreement is seen a clear stance-taking by Trump. This is not seen as necessarily a lucrative decision when thinking about voters and supporters. One political expert is quoted suspecting that *People are interpreting this not as my house is going to be flooded tomorrow,*

but our federal government is being run by people who don't care about science. (Phillip & Wagner, 2017, p. A13). In other words, Trump could be interpreted to disregard important scientific information on other matters as well, since he is willing to do so now with climate change and the Paris agreement. However, since Trump's supporters and voters largely did not support the Paris agreement, the risky decision is not immediately labelled by political experts as an inherently bad decision. By bringing forward these pieces of information, *TWP*'s ideological views are brought forward underneath. It could also be said that by not labelling the decision bad because of the voters' agreement on the matter, *TWP* hints that there is a possibility the voters will not agree on scientific facts either.

6.2.2. Citizens of the US

TWP published three articles about grass-root people, working in industries that are easily affected by the U.S. Government's environmental decision. These interviews were personal and shed light on the situation on both ends of the energy field, the older and traditional coal mining, and the newer and greener solar energy. The articles that deal with the possible repercussions to citizens of the U.S. Three articles in total take a more ground level approach to the effects of the Paris agreement, interviewing and visiting people working in the fields of solar energy and coal mining. Both fields are presented as dependent on the environmental decisions made, because coal is seen as dirty and polluting, whereas solar energy is the cleaner, more sophisticated way of the future to produce energy.

Personalisation in climate change news is not that common in Western news (Dahl and Flottum, 2017), because the effects of climate change related events or decision made in climate summits usually do not have that big of an effect in the regular citizen. Personalisation brings the human element to a story. By having grass-root people telling their stories and how the Paris climate agreement has affected them, and how the withdrawal might affect them, the story becomes more comprehensible to readers. This way, the readers may be able to relate to the people in the news stories or see themselves in them. It may rouse emotions and make people more responsive to the issue.

Even though Personalisation is not often featured in Western climate change related news, the withdrawal from Paris Agreement is effortlessly linked to two solar workers, whose backgrounds as a U.S. Marine and a college drop-out give an idea of the wide variety of people, and furthermore

could be argued to emphasise the idea that the solar workers come from a variety of backgrounds, giving people a chance of employment without particular degrees, just as coal industry in the past. Additionally, the withdrawal is linked to the other end of the spectrum, coal workers, whom could be perceived to represent the past, whereas solar workers represent the future. The story of normal citizens also brings the issue closer to the readers, giving it a tangible feel.

In addition to Personalisation, the three articles use the news values Impact and Proximity. Impact means the expected, or unexpected consequences of an event. Proximity, as the name suggests, refers to the physical nearness or distance of the event. By interviewing and telling the stories of ordinary citizens of the US, who work in energy fields and how the Paris agreement affects them, the news values Impact and Proximity are used to create value to the event that will makes readers more interested in it. Furthermore, by having two different sides telling their point of views *TWP* adheres in this case to the journalistic norm of showing no bias towards anyone.

“Attributing emotions to news actors thus sparks the reader’s interest and triggers their emotional response” (Bednarek, 2010, p. 35). These articles delve into their take on both their own futures, as well as the country’s. The worries and joys of the withdrawal are reported from average citizens. Solar worker that voted for President Trump is now saying “*I was in favor of Trump, which I might regret now*” (Paquette, 2017, p. A16). This implies that the decision to withdraw may have an impact on Trump’s approval ratings and may even hurt his next presidential campaign for second term. Although the article does play with the future impacts on solar industry and the bigger picture, it also uses personalisation by telling how two regular workers are affected by the decision.

The stories covering more personal aspect, such as the ones about coal miners (Swanson, 2017, p. A7; Roberts, 2017, p. A10) and the one about solar workers ((Paquette, 2017, p. A16) explore both sides of the energy production work field. The older traditional coal miners are presented, as well as the newer, clean energy workers, the solar workers.

The positioning of the stories in the articles *‘Dying breed’: A Pennsylvania mining community appreciates the president’s support, but many doubt coal revival* (Swanson, 2017) and *A ‘solar coaster’ of worries for energy workers* (Paquette, 2017) reveal an interesting disposition. Although the articles were published on different days, the juxtaposition becomes apparent when analysing the overall contents of the articles related to the Paris agreement withdrawal. Coal workers are presented as a thing of the past, even by the interviewee who has worked his whole life in coal mines. The coal workers’ dangerous and polluting side of work is brought up frequently throughout the article.

Additionally, it is interesting to notice that the interviewees chosen for the article are from vastly different generations. The coal miner, Edward Popernack, is 84 years old at the time of the interview, and Mike Catanzaro, the solar panel installer, is 25 years old. This seems to further create the image that coal mining is the thing of the past, at the end of its path, whereas clean energy such as solar panels are just beginning their journey. The intentionality of this decision is unclear. Both fields are presented as accessible to people with no higher education though. There is a quote positioned at the end of the article *A 'solar coaster' of worries for energy workers* (Paquette, 2017) that additionally draws attention to the similarities between the coal and solar energy fields and the accessibility to work life in those fields: “Every generation has a trade [...] It used to be the steelworkers. The coal miners. Now this can give us the best job security” (Paquette, 2017, p. A16) By ‘this’ the interviewee refers to solar energy. So, at the same time this quote points out the similarities between coal and solar workers, but also expresses that coal workers will be replaced by a new generation of solar workers.

The point of view in the article *Sensing a turnaround in Wyo.* (Roberts, June 3, 2017, p. A10) focuses more on the community aspect. In the article the journalist familiarises the reader with the history of a mining area, giving a thorough but concise overview of the effects environmental regulation changes have had in the community for the past four decades. This aspect of climate change related action taken and its effect on the towns that produce and depend on traditional mining, oil, and gas industries is an interesting one. As climate change related weather events and other phenomena are a result of climate change inaction, the wilting of communities dependent on traditional form of energy production is, at least in some part, consequence of action against climate change. Therefore, both anthropogenic climate change related phenomena that affect people’s lives with, for example, weather related catastrophes such as floods and forest fires, and consequences of action against global climate change fall under the same categories of rarer climate change related news values, which are Impact and Proximity.

As a contrast to the idea that coal mining is a thing of the past, a person representing sexual minorities is introduced in the article. The motivation behind this piece of information about the town, that she and her partner were *the first same-sex couple in the country to get a marriage license*. (Roberts, 2017 p. A10) is unclear. It could be that by bringing out this piece of information the journalist tries to bring forward the fact that although coal mining communities are traditional and old, there are contemporary values present as well. However, a couple lines below the fact is brought up that after Trump’s presidency began there started to be problems with homophobia. The person is even quoted

speculating “*whether Trump’s rhetoric excavated a hate that lingered as close to the surface as the coal.*” (Roberts, 2017, p.A10) By presenting these contradicting pieces of information about the community in question, *TWP*’s rhetoric and motivation is a little bit contradictory. There could be an attempt to draw attention to the fact that during Obama’s presidency even in the conservative parts of the country there was room for acceptance, whereas Trump’s presidency, which at that point had just begun, there is more probability of hate towards minorities. On the other hand, the motivation behind choices of the interviewees and quotes could be just to bring out the fact that even though mining communities do value traditional and conservative values, there is also room for change. Whatever the actual motivation is, to the audience this article gives an important glimpse to the changing history of mining communities and the current state.

Another aspect the three articles about energy workers brought up, and have in common, is the fact that no one is inherently pleased with Trump’s decision to withdraw from the Paris agreement. Although the views and reasons why the withdrawal was not met with positive reaction are different, there are similarities. One of the similarities is the fact that all of the workers supported and voted for Trump in the presidential election. They all profess to have supported Trump because he appeared to be on the side of regular working citizens. All the stories have similar structures in this aspect: the support for Trump is brought up, but then the problems and uncertainty of their current support becomes evident. The structures and the similarities between these articles in *TWP* bring forward how even supporters of Trump do not view the decisions the president of the US as made by someone they elected to represent them.

Another similarity between the three articles is also related to the structure and how the articles are constructed. They are long, and do not straightforwardly and concisely bring new information about an event. Rather, there is a lot of background information, picture-building, meaning that the journalist gives a lot of information that is not necessary, but helps the audience to possibly insert themselves in the story, and hence making the effects of climate change related decisions more plausible and real.

Additionally, the uncertainties in the energy business are brought up. Whereas coal, oil, and gas have all gone through difficult times, solar energy is not painted as being the solution to all energy production problems either. Whereas the decline of older forms of energy productions have been reported and appointed as the result of Obama’s decisions during his presidential term, there is now

reports of decline in solar energy market during Trump's presidential term. Therefore, this highlights the fact that every source of energy is dependent on the political climate at the time.

These structural decisions that were made before the publication could be a coincidence, or just adhere to general storytelling doctrines that first the good and positive is brought forward, and then the problems begin. By having so many similarities in the contents and structures of these stories, and all the articles discussing topics in related fields, it is normal to have some overlap and similarities. However, there seems to be a pattern that cannot be ignored. The positioning that first Trump is seen as a good candidate that reflects the values and ideas the people in the articles share, but then disappoints these voters could come from the ideological background and political leanings of *TWP*.

Additionally, an article where the Mayor of Pittsburgh is interviewed uses personalisation and high-status individual (Frankel, 2017, p. A1). At the same time, the person interviewed is an authority figure, but the interview shows him in a light that brings him on the same level as the regular citizens, giving an impression of a regular working-class individual, which makes him seem more accessible to the readers. By portraying the mayor in a setting and doing an activity that is familiar to a lot of people, in this case watching sports in a bar, the reader is given a more personal image of the mayor as a regular person, even though he is an authority figure. The language in the article is relaxed, with the formal style of newspapers still present.

Bell (1991) argued that the aim of newspapers' headlines is to seize the attention of the reader (p. 189). *The Washington Post* has retained a non-sensationalist approach in its headlines. The headlines are short and precise, giving as much information of the article as possible, but also demanding some knowledge of the context in order to understand it. As mentioned by Develotte and Rechniewski (2001), headlines are the part of the newspaper that receive the most views (p. 2). Hence, the headlines need to be interesting and draw attention, while remaining faithful to the general tone of the newspaper. Ever so often the headlines do rely on wordplay when reporting the Paris climate agreement withdrawal announcement. The articles *A 'solar coaster' of worries for energy workers* (Paquette, 2017, p. A16), *'Dying breed': A Pennsylvania mining community appreciates the president's support, but many doubt coal revival*. (Swanson, 2017, p. A7), and *In 'Paris of Appalachians', support for pact* (Frankel, 2017, p. A1) all utilise wordplay. Wordplays additionally rely on context and what Develotte and Rechniewski (2001) refer to as 'cultural knowledge' (p. 4), meaning that the audience has knowledge only attainable through being a part of a certain culture, or having extensive knowledge of the culture in question. The *In 'Paris of Appalachians', support for*

pact additionally requires some background knowledge of the withdrawal speech Trump gave, because the ‘*Paris of Appalachians*’ is a reference to the popular quote “*I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris.*” (the quote can be heard from e.g. Washington Free Beacon, 2017, 00:27).

The news article *Sensing a turnaround in Wyo.* (Roberts, 2017, p. A10) divulges the story of another coal mining town and its people that have suffered from the changes in the energy business. In this article, as in the other coal mining focused article ‘*Dying breed*’: *A Pennsylvania mining community appreciates the president’s support, but many doubt coal revival* (Swanson, 2017, p. A7) Trump’s supporters and voters get a voice. The people who did not have any connection to Trump, repeat the same sentiment as those who tried to influence Trump to stay in the Paris agreement: *they felt it was better for the United States to be part of an agreement that so directly affects their livelihoods.* (Samuels, p. A10). Such a statement makes clear that Trump’s decision was not popular even among those who support him. It also implies that Trump did not listen to the wishes of the supporters.

The pattern is similar in both *Sensing a turnaround in Wyo.* (Roberts, 2017) and ‘*Dying breed*’: *A Pennsylvania mining community appreciates the president’s support, but many doubt coal revival* (Swanson, 2017). The stories consist of people who have been struggling because of the reshaping of the energy industries, and how Trump’s administration has had a positive influence. However, the ‘*Dying breed*’: *A Pennsylvania mining community appreciates the president’s support, but many doubt coal revival* (Swanson, 2017) does have a more pessimistic tone to it, and the interviewee acknowledges the fact that although coal mining has a long history, there are more safe ways to produce energy nowadays. In the *Sensing a turnaround in Wyo.* (Roberts, 2017) the people interviewed hold a more positive view of the future now that Trump is the president. In the article the role coal, oil, and gas are brought up as important sources of wealth for cities and communities. Now, with new limitations for energy production and new forms of energy production the town can no longer maintain the same level of economy. The story brings out another side of the coal, gas, and oil industry that may be dismissed often; the people behind it, and the towns that depend on the older forms of energy production. By bringing out these stories, *TWP* utilises news values Impact and Proximity again. In other words, *TWP* brings the effects of actions through these stories closer to the readers in the US.

The quote from Trump’s withdrawal announcement speech, “I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris” (e.g. Washington Free Beacon, 2017, 00:27) is the most popular quote used

from Trump, and features in three articles (Johnson & Rucker, 2017, P. A14; Birnbaum et al, 2017, p. A13; Phillip & Wagner, 2017, p. A13). The quote does have significant value, as it resonates with the message Trump has been giving since the beginning of his presidential campaign. Also, by using the same quote in multiple articles, *TWP* further creates value for it, by having multiple people read multiple times. The quote also gives the premise to the article *In 'Paris of Appalachians', support for pact* (Frankel, 2017, p. A1). The headline itself comes from wordplay and requires some background and cultural knowledge of the reader. There is also some juxtaposition between the mayor of Pittsburgh and the mayor from the article *Sensing a turnaround in Wyo.* (Roberts, 2017, p. A10). Although both wished that the US would remain part of the Paris agreement, the motivations behind those wishes is reported to be different. This once again shows the juxtaposition *TWP* brings up between those who believe in anthropogenic climate change, and those who do not.

The favouring of those who share the more common view of climate change being a treating and immediate issue against the decision made by President Trump additionally brings light to how the newspaper covers President Trump. Out of the twenty-one articles analysed, only two articles covered positive views and opinions of the withdrawal decision.

A poll conducted by Washington Post-ABC (Clement & Dennis, 2017, p. A7) claims to reveal that over half of the US citizens are opposing the withdrawal from the Paris Agreement. In the article about the U.S. citizens' opinion on the withdrawal and the poll results, the U.S. is once again mentioned to join only two countries against the rest of the UN members. The leading role of the U.S. is also contrasted against the two countries by stating that *Syria, which is mired in civil war, and Nicaragua, which refused to join because its leaders said the Paris deal did not go far enough to combat global warming.* (Clement & Dennis, 2017, p. A7) This kind of statement could be argued to draw attention to the absurdity of the company the U.S, world's leading nation economically, and one of the most influential nations in the world, is joining; a country troubled with civil war, and a developing country that had bigger ambitions for the Paris Agreement.

6.3. Donald Trump's stance on climate change

Only one article focused solely on the misinformation Trump based his decision on. However, multiple articles brought up the misinformation that affected Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. It is widely known from the times of Trump's presidential campaign that Trump

does not believe in climate change, even though there are undisputable scientific evidence to back it up (e.g. Fox News, 2015). The articles bring up this fact multiple times: *Trump, who has said climate change is a 'hoax' and that the restrictions are bad for the U.S. economy* (Denyer & Gowen, 2017, p. A11) *Trump, who has labeled climate change a "hoax"* (Johnson & Rucker, 2017, p. A14), *Trump has long been skeptical of climate change, despite vast scientific evidence showing that human activity has contributed to the problem, and he has repeatedly suggested that it is a "hoax."* (Johnson, 2017, p. A13).

Another article discusses Trump's previously known stance toward climate change and whether there has been any change his election. *Does he still think it's a 'hoax'?* and the consequent sub-headline *The dance around Trump's beliefs on climate change* (Johnson, 2017, p. A13) reveals no one in Trump's administration is willing, or at least the journalist could not find any evidence of someone giving an answer, to comment on Trump's current stance towards his beliefs on climate change. The stigma against climate change science deniers is strong nowadays, and refusal to comment on the matter or admit that Trump does not believe in climate change could be detrimental to his future campaign, nor that the withdrawal decision could affect his rating polls.

In the article *Explanation for Paris exit is based on spurious claims*, (Kessler & Hee Lee, 2017, p. A1) the misinformation Trump based the withdrawal decision on is exclusively discussed. The statements made by President Trump are dissected and the facts are presented to counterargue his decisive remarks. Trump reportedly based his decision on the ineffectiveness of the Paris Agreement, as well as the role of a sole payer for the accord. Trump claimed that the US was not treated fairly, and that China and India got more freedom in continuing developing coal plants and other non-green energy methods (p. A1). The article debunks these claims, and furthermore points out that the research Trump based his claims on was biased.

In addition to debunking Trump's claims about the benefits of withdrawing from the agreement, in the article negative picture that is common in climate change related reporting is used: a heavy smoke coming from and surrounding a clump of industrial pipes in the background. This kind of image that could be analysed as representing unclear air. It could also remind readers of historical times when cities used to be surrounded by smoke and the air quality was catastrophic. The picture is a heavy opposite of nature and cleanliness. The choosing process behind the picture must have been influenced by the tone of the article, and additionally it is the only such picture from the day of the

announcement. This is possibly done to further advance the ideology behind *TWP* that anthropogenic climate change is a real issue, and Trump's actions are condemned by the newspaper.

The reasons behind the withdrawal decision are often cited to be related to employment and financial security. *CALLS DEAL UNFAIR TO U.S. WORKERS* (Johnson & Rucker, 2017, p. A14) uses quotation marks but it is not a quote from any person mentioned in the article itself. The use of quotation marks appears to be a way to concisely deliver the main point of the president's speech. President Trump is reported to state multiple times, that the treaty was *unfair to the US citizens* (Johnson & Rucker, 2017, p. A1). However, political figures in the US are reported to work nearly behind the president's back to create policies that will help their states to comply with the goals set in the Paris Climate Agreement. These articles can be categorised as using the Boykoff & Boykoff's (2007) 'personalised battles' theme. New York Governor Andrew Cuomo is reported to implement a renewable energy deal which would bring thousands of jobs. This in contrasted to Trump's reasoning to withdraw from the Paris agreement under the pretence of job loss:

While Trump has cited his concern about coal jobs in withdrawing from the agreement, Cuomo said his latest energy initiative, combined with earlier measures, would create 40,000 jobs by 2020 – nearly twice the current number of mining and logging jobs in West Virginia, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Mufson, p. A13)

In the article *Explanation for Paris exit is based on spurious claims*, (Kessler & Hee Lee, 2017, p. A1) the same argument about jobs that Trump used is debunked. *“Notably, he looked at only one side of the scale [...] But he often ignored the benefits that would come from tackling climate change, including potential green jobs.”*

Closer examination of the language used in the article reveals bias against Trump. The use of adjectives such as '*spurious*', '*dubious*', '*unbalanced*', and '*puzzling*' create an interesting image of the way the article is constructed. The adjective '*spurious*' means “not true or genuine; false; counterfeit” (Collins Dictionary, 2020). It has a more negative connotation than the word 'false' because it is not used as widely, hence not being diluted by use. Additionally, the use of the word '*claim*' instead of 'fact' further solidifies the stance of the paper. As a noun, '*claim*' is not fact-based and is defined in dictionaries in the following ways: “A **claim** is something which someone says which they cannot prove and which may be false.” (Collins Dictionary, 2020), and “an assertion open to challenge” (Merriam-Webster, 2020), and “a statement that something is true although it has not been proved and other people may not agree with or believe it” (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2020.) In essence, since *TWP* is not a tabloid magazine that famously use “content-rich

vocabulary” (Schaffer, 1995, p. 28), the articles do not feature words that straightforwardly declare the president as a liar. However, Trump’s speech announcing the withdrawal from the Paris agreement is described in one article as *forceful, lengthy and at times rambling speech* (Johnson & Rucker, 2017, p. A14). The language used in the articles definitely has some colourful choices of words and expressions. Some of those are from sources, and some are not attributed to anyone, so they have been come up by the journalist. The withdrawal announcement is also described in words such as ‘*ditching*’, ‘*exit*’ (Morello & Wagner, 2017, A14) by the journalists.

Moreover, the article suggests to the reader that *So the figures must be viewed with jaundiced eye*. (Kessler & Hee Lee, 2017, p. A1) when the biased statistics Trump based his decision on are discussed. The adjective ‘*jaundiced*’ means low expectations towards someone or something due to previous experiences (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2020). This gives more information about the current background and ideologies behind *TWP*. It is apparent that *TWP* has acknowledged the scientifically proven anthropogenic climate change research as a part of their core values. However, in the article, in accordance with journalistic norms, the other side is also questioned. When presenting the other possibility of positive effects on employment as a counterargument against Trump’s negative ones, it is acknowledged that: *That may not be correct either, but it demonstrates how the outcomes in models of economic activity decades from now depends on the assumptions*. (Kessler & Hee Lee, 2017, p. A1) In other words, the tentativeness of the other side is recognised, but it is presented in a more favourable light with the benefit of a doubt. Trump’s favoured statistic on the other hand are presented more bluntly, and corrected immediately with known facts: *But in addition to an unrealistic scenario, that number must be viewed in context* (Kessler & Hee Lee, 2017, p. A1).

The headlines *After debate, Trump ‘stayed where he’s always been’* (Birnbaum, 2017) and *Explanation for Paris exit is based on spurious claims* (Kessler et al, 2017) show clear bias on behalf of the paper on their stance towards Trump and the issue of anthropogenic climate change. Additionally, it shows the stance towards those who deny the scientific consensus of the existence of anthropogenic climate change. The straight quote in the headline is from Kellyanne Conway, the President’s counsellor. This makes it a high-status quote, as it is from someone in an influential position. It appears to be positioned in a negative way, since stagnation is rarely a good thing in a world that keeps moving forward. However, the full quote in the text (“*He’s stayed where he’s always been, and not for a lack of trying by those who have an opposite opinion [...] “He started with a conclusion, and the evidence brought him to the same conclusion”*” (Birnbaum et al, 2017, p. A13))

shows that originally it was not meant in a negative way, but rather that the President made an educated decision that just ended up being his first initial decision as well.

7. Discussion and conclusion

The thesis set out to study how *The Washington Post* handled the reporting of the US withdrawal decision from the Paris Climate Agreement decision announcement. The study of climate reporting has been an increasingly interesting field of study in the media research community since the beginning of the 21st. Growing interest in how language and environment are connected has created a new branch on linguistics called ‘ecolinguistics’, which directly deals with the issues of environmental language use. News discourse on anthropogenic climate change has also drawn the attention of media and linguistics researches.

Anthropogenic (direct consequence of human action) climate change in media has been a growing research field in the past decades. As scientific community has found consensus on the realities of climate change, the reporting has changed as well. Whereas before both the climate change science deniers and those who believe anthropogenic climate change to be an issue that touches all life on earth were given equal amount of space in reporting. This was the cause of a journalistic norm that dictates that reporting should be balanced and unbiased. However, as consensus of the severity of anthropogenic climate change has started to form amongst scientists, climate change has become a fact in the news as well (e.g. Kumpu, 2016; Antilla, 2010).

Although anthropogenic climate change has been widely accepted as a fact in the Western mainstream media, studies have shown there are still some difficulties that arise when reporting climate change related events. One of the issues is the inexperience of the reporters. In a paper by Antilla (2010), the fact that some journalist receive their knowledge of climate change from newspapers themselves is brought up. Anthropogenic climate change is an issue with many layers, and one of those issues has been the effect on and of big companies that rely on fossil fuels. Biased reporting has happened in the past, but nowadays the media seems to report more and more factual, science based, and evidence backed information in relation to climate change.

One of the key findings of the study was that through language choices contrast was created between the US and the rest of the world. Further, contrasting views between Donald Trump and the US were brought up frequently, to create separation between the President’s choices and what the perceived majority of the US states and large companies. The most popular linguistic devices utilised were negative language, with image settings delivering their own impressions of the events that supported the articles’ texts. Also, a popular linguistic device used was juxtaposition. In the articles the power positions between the US and China were brought up often. The contrast between the previous stance

on anthropogenic climate change the US had and how the Trump administration views the matter is also presented to the readers more than once.

There appears to be a monumental change to how research has found climate change reporting to have been, but also reflects more recent findings. Those findings, (e.g. Boykoff & Pearman, 2019) suggest that climate change reporting has advanced from unbiased, impartial, balanced reporting that gives space to every side of a matter to a more concentrated, science-based, and partial, meaning that climate change reports in newspapers do not cover climate change deniers views as much, and more importantly, not in such a favourable light as they do climate change believers. *TWP* also expresses these new norms, which can be seen in the way climate change deniers, and those who opposed the Paris climate agreement are presented in the articles. They are given less space, and often their views and opinions are presented at the end of the articles.

One interesting piece of information that the analysis brought up was that the journalists in *The Washington Post* appeared to have a decent understanding of anthropogenic climate change. Even more importantly, there were multiple sources and quotes from credible scientists. This means that the information presented to the readers was not second hand, and that the information about climate change most likely was scientifically correct. So, unlike in Antilla's (2010) research findings, *TWP*'s reporting of the US' Paris climate agreement withdrawal was not based on information the journalists learned from other newspapers.

Overall, the role climate change has in today's political field has become eminent. *The Washington Post* staff, editors and journalists in this case, direct the readers to think about the effects climate change related issues have nowadays on world politics. This is highlighted in the *TWP* articles over course of the period the withdrawal announcement remained newsworthy. The changing role of the US in the global political field drew a lot of attention from the *TWP*, with multiple articles focusing on the possible negative effects on the role of the US as a leading country. The role of anthropogenic climate change in both global and local politics has become so prominent that there is a serious possibility of changing powers and alliances in global politics. This is one theme that *TWP* relies on often in the reporting of the withdrawal decision.

Additionally, the choice of quotes, as Jullian (2011) and White's (2006) studies suggest, were an integral part of how news values and discourses were created, according to the findings of the analysis. The chosen quotes seem to focus on the negative responses from politicians in Europe, China, and India. The quotes from domestic politicians are favourably negative as well. Another focus

point from the international quotes as well appears to be the role of a world leader that the US has been appointed. Comments that bring up that status are numerable. Once again, the unwillingness to co-operate on climate change matters is seen as undermining the US' role as a global leader. These views are brought out by negative words and choice of quotes from high-status individuals that express these views. This creates the view of other vs. the US, which further creates an impression of the US and an '*climate outlaw*', a term that was used by one of the high-status individuals quoted in an article (Mooney, 2017, p. A1).

There is still need for more thorough study of how climate change journalism and the U.S. politics are connected. It would be interesting to study the historical development and how democratic and republican presidency has affected the journalistic outcome. It would also be interesting to see how a larger sampling of different newspapers deal with anthropogenic climate change reporting during President Trump's presidential run. Additionally, sensationalism has seeped into daily newspapers as well. This could be due to competition with other newspapers, and especially online news. In order to get readers' attention during these times when information is available around the clock on many platforms news have had to start competing with blogs, Twitter posts, and other social media channels that have the ability to publish news, both credited and fake, without care of journalistic norms. It would be interesting to research further how Trump's, who is known for making blunt statements that are not backed by science, statements impact newspaper reporting.

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